

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 IO-06 ISO-00 CU-02 DHA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2533
INFO ALL EC CAPITALS
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 13405

LIMDIS

NOFORN

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, FR, UR
SUBJ: CSCE AND THE BREZHNEV PROPOSALS: A QUAI PER-
SPECTIVE

REF: PARIS 13372

1. IN CONTEXT LONGER CONVERSATION, QUAI DIRECTOR
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EUROPEAN AFFAIRS ANDREANI RUMINATED WITH US OVER MEDIUM-
AND LONGER-TERM SOVIET CSCE STRATEGY IN LIGHT OF
DUBININ'S RECENT VISIT (REFTEL).

2. HELSINKI AND THE IDEA OF A POST-HELSINKI FOLLOW-UP
HAD ORIGINALLY BEEN SOVIET IDEAS TO GIVE SUBSTANCE TO
THEIR LONG-STANDING PAN-EUROPEAN PEACE CAMPAIGN.

HOWEVER, EVEN DURING GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS SOVIETS BEGAN TO BACK AWAY--NOT FROM PAN-EUROPEAN CAMPAIGN--BUT FROM ITS PURSUIT IN CSCE FRAMEWORK; FIRST, BECAUSE UNANIMITY PRINCIPLE HAD BECOME CSCE TRADITION AND SO MADE CSCE PROCESS MUCH HARDER TO MANIPULATE; AND, SECONDLY, BECAUSE FINAL ACT ENDED UP CONTAINING EFFECTIVE MECHANISM FOR REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION.

3. THE SOVIETS ARE CLEARLY INTERESTED IN CONTINUATION OF THEIR PAN-EUROPEAN CAMPAIGN, INVOLVING PARTICIPATION OF SAME THIRTY-FIVE COUNTRIES, BUT WITHOUT THESE CSCE IMPEDIMENTS. ANDREANI THEREFORE EXPECTS THAT THEY WILL, IN EFFECT, TRY TO PUT END TO ACTIVE CSCE PROCESS AT BELGRADE BY ASSURING THAT NO DATE IS FIXED FOR A NEW REVIEW CONFERENCE AND SO MAKING THE FINAL ACT A RELATIVELY ACADEMIC DOCUMENT. AT SAME TIME, THEY WILL SHIFT THEIR WEIGHT IN SUPPORT OF FUNCTIONAL PAN-EUROPEAN PROJECTS, SUCH AS THEIR THREE CONFERENCE PROPOSALS, WHICH DO NOT INVOLVE BASKET III ISSUES, BUT DO FOSTER "PAN-EUROPEAN" SPIRIT.

4. FOR THIS PURPOSE, ECE FRAMEWORK PROBABLY SUITS SOVIETS VERY WELL, SINCE, ITS DIVISION INTO EASTERN AND WESTERN CAUCUSES, ITS ALTERNATING PRESIDENCY AND ITS CHAIRMANSHIP BY A "NEUTRAL," PROVIDE MUCH MORE PROMISING FRAMEWORK FOR SUCH PAN-EUROPEAN OPERATIONS. ANDREANI SAID THAT, WHILE FRANCE IS OF COURSE BOUND BY EC-9 DECISIONS REACHED ON THIS POINT, AND WHICH IT HELPED FORMULATE, HE NOW THINKS, ON STRICTLY PERSONAL BASIS, CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT IT WAS NOT A GOOD IDEA TO ENCOURAGE DISCUSSION OF BREZHNEV ENVIRONMENTAL CONFERENCE IN EC FRAMEWORK.

5. ANDREANI SAID HE THOUGHT HE WOULD WRITE DE GUIRINGAUD A PAPER ABOUT ALL THIS WHOLE PROBLEM, ADDING THAT BROADER SOVIET STRATEGY WILL REQUIRE CAREFUL WATCHING.
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